846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

551 Father Gassldinger erroneously connects with the fear of death: nsujimbwa, dog kennel; sembwa, father of a dog; inangurube, pig's mother; kabwebwe, jackal, kabaragassa, flea; somojindi, human excrement. Others are: ruteratschuma, he hurls the iron; ndarusanse, I have hit it; ntamavukiro, homeless; rurihasi, he is near; ruronona, he is the destroyer; rutakaje, he has been lost [112] (No. 46, 1913, p. 13). In addition to his proper name, each child also bears the name of its clan and is given one or more nicknames which it retains even as an adult. The true names of children or adults are only reluctantly revealed to strangers because it is assumed that the latter, by knowing the name, may obtain magical power over its bearer which they might abuse to cause him harm (see p. 133).

853 The feeding and rearing of the child are entirely the affair of the mother. She breast feeds it up to the age of three and four years, and it is very amusing to see a strapping little boy run away from his play and up to his mother where he takes a few refreshing draughts from her breast and then once more rejoins his playmates. The children are kept clean and given a bath every day. There are no baskets or cradles where the children may be deposited. As long as the infant is unable to walk properly, it is carried on its mother's back all the time in a carrying sling (impetso) made of goat or sheep skin with openings for the child's head and legs. Even while working in the fields or while dancing, the mother usually keeps the child on her back; its head and legs are then jolted about by the sudden movements as though it were a puppet. Yet this seldom makes the child cry. From time to time the child is taken out of the sling by lifting it gently from the side and allowed to defecate. If it has done so inside the rucksack, the latter and the mother and child are simply washed. Older children are placed astride the left hip of their mother who supports them from behind with her left arm.

854 [515] 854 [482]

854 513 At night the children lie on animal skins on the ground. They are covered with the upper garment of the mother which is made of soft cloth from the bark of the fig tree. Very small children are sometimes caressed with kisses by their mother. Otherwise the Barundi are not familiar with kissing (No. 19,

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

●853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 were growing, when a child had his hair cut in tufts for the first time, at the initiation into the Ryangombe sect, when a daughter was asked to marry, on the wedding day of a son or a daughter, on the accession of a new king, at sowing time, and at the celebration for July harvesting. All these events were happy and joyful because they were growths or increases in life. Intercourse was also obligatory at the end of the mourning periods when life had to go on and start again after that period of abeyance.

This obligatory intercourse took place between husband and wife. When it was impossible because one of the spouses was absent or dead, one had to rely upon a privileged partner, or, if this was impossible, had to get medicine prepared from certain herbs by a diviner.

[853] There was no prohibition of intercourse between the spouses during the suckling months (the first eighteen to twenty-four).

(*b*) *Economic co-operation*

595 [594] The nuclear family and, to a large extent each wife's compound in polygamous cases, was a self-sufficient unit of economic co-operation. Among rich Tutsi who could afford separate homesteads for their wives, each wife was in fact the superintendent of her own. She had to command her husband's clients, servants, cultivators, and herdsmen. It was no wonder that women who could be entrusted with such responsibilities were respected within their family and in society at large. If the homestead was small, as among ordinary Tutsi, or consisted only of a small cultivated plot, as among most Hutu polygamists, each of these wives had, nevertheless, some economic responsibility, even if it was only that of working by herself in the fields. This important participation of polygynous wives in the management of a small unit of production and consumption, should be studied in relation to the 562 status of women in Ruanda.[9] This status was by no means equal to that of men but it was far from being one of slavery. Tutsi [593] husbands and wives ate together, the wife was consulted by her husband on many problems, and she was treated with much politeness. The Hutu were ruder and more temperamental, but they followed a more or less similar pattern. Under the present administration there are two or three women, widows of Tutsi chiefs, who act as sub-chiefs. The mere fact that it is taken for

[9] See Naigiziki, 1959.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

woman's divorce was not yet completely settled (i.e. if the exchange of marriage-gifts and counter-gifts had not taken place), the former husband was still regarded as a pater of the child and the genitor had to pay him the child-wealth, if he wanted to have the child.

My male informants affirmed not to know of any contraceptives and they did not think that women knew better. In Ruanda culture, they would probably have been used exclusively for premarital relations. One informant, however, stressed the fact that too many pregnancies were bad for very poor people not having enough cow-milk and goat-milk to give to their babies, who then often died from malnutrition or from intestinal diseases (goat-milk was regarded as vermifugal). A certain herb called *umuhoko* was known for its abortive effects and used sometimes by pregnant unmarried girls with the help of their mother.

(d) Socialization

The young Ruanda spent the first years of his life in his mother's compound. There the first stages of the long process of his socialization, which was completed only after he had achieved marriage and parenthood, took place.

In matters of education, as in others, the supreme authority in the compound was the father. The paternal uncle could discipline his nephews and nieces only when they were in his compound or when the father was not present. His role was that of a substitute for the father. The maternal uncle had no authority except where the bride-wealth had not been paid. The mother had no authority of her own and had to be backed up by the father. It is clear, however, that in everyday life and particularly when the children were young, the mother was a disciplinarian and the main agent of socialization.

The training for the different activities expected to be mastered by any member of his caste began early for the child. From weaning (when they were about two years old) to the age of five, children were supposed to be clean, quiet, and not to wander far from the compound. Not later than five years old, children began to collect wood, to carry water, to watch goats and calves. A ten-year-old boy was taught how to handle a hoe and worked with his father in the fields. A girl learned how to light a fire, to brush, and to carry out the household duties of a woman. Boys from twelve to